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Director of Central Intelligence

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To The Printing Week Dinner,
NEW YORK EMPLOYING PRINTERS ASSOCIATION
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Hotel Commodore, New York City

"THE POWER OF IDEAS"

I am deeply moved by the honor you have paid me tonight in awarding me the Franklin Medal for Distinguished Service and by the citation accompanying it. It is most satisfying to me to know that you feel that I have been able to accomplish something toward the protection of our freedoms in a turbulent world where, as you say, freedom left unguarded is freedom destroyed.

Almost 250 years ago, Benjamin Franklin, printer, started out with the enthusiasm of youth to improve the means of communication. He began by printing the ideas of others. Soon he became himself one of the great pioneering Americans, both in voicing new ideas of his own and in developing novel means whereby knowledge could be communicated widely. In Franklin's time, the dissemination of information was limited to a chosen few who could afford it. He believed that knowledge should belong to the many.

Even so, Ben Franklin's audience was small. Now, the peoples of the world are the audience you must seek to reach.

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Franklin lived in an age of revolutions. So do we.

We have the revolution of population explosion. It was not until 1835 that the world's population reached one billion. It took only a century to add the next billion; only a generation to add the third, and shortly we may

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be adding a billion souls every fifteen years. Unfortunately order and discipline have not always kept pace with this quick and uneven crowding of the earth.

The revolution in means of communication goes on apace. Ideas and events that once would have caused no ripple outside the immediate area of their origin now have world-wide impact. Men's minds are being exposed to bright new images. At the same time, in the wrong hands, these techniques can serve evil ends.

We have a continuing revolution in the scale and means of production. The industrial revolution is reaching the farthest corners of the earth. A scientific revolution is accompanying it, as we cross the threshold of the nuclear age.

People who have not yet benefited from industrial and technological advances are restless when they see what others have achieved in supplying themselves with this world's goods and the leisure to enjoy them.

These and other forces for change tend to merge in great areas of the world into what can be called the revolution of rising and unsatisfied expectations. That is the revolution we are facing in the world today.

Even the most remote and the most backward peoples are beginning to know that a better life exists elsewhere and they are stretching out to see how they can share in it.

Along with these revolutions goes a powerful nationalistic urge. National independence is viewed as an end in itself, even for small geographical groupings of people. For example, the word went around in the Congo just before independence day last July that as soon as they got independence each family would promptly receive a new motor car as part of that independence.

Unfortunately that has not yet come to them.

This revolution of rising expectations is quite unreasoning by any ordinary standards of logic and of common sense. Often, by its haste, it prejudices the very objectives it seeks. But today it brooks no argument. It chafes at delays or at counsels for patience, or suggestions that only hard work and discipline can improve the lot of man.

These revolutionary developments alone would mark our age as one of turmoil, of uncertainty, and of potentialities for good or for evil beyond what we had ever conceived.

But in these times we also have to face the conspiracy of international communism.

And we have the great question: Which of the two forces in the world today -- free democracy or Communist dictatorship -- is to take over and direct our revolutionary era?

The Communist leaders feel that they can use the restless peoples today to put the world in a strait jacket tomorrow. They propose to exploit revolutionary forces to destroy free governments everywhere.

The Communists operate on the premise that human beings, if left free, are incompetent to manage their political and economic affairs or wisely to choose their leaders. The Soviet and Chinese people are rigidly controlled by dictatorships which believe they have an historical destiny to determine and guide the fate of all mankind in this present age of revolution.

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It is vital that we should better understand the true nature of Communism and its program.

The Communist regimes of the Soviet Union and Red China have each built a barrier around their own heartland and their adjacent satellites. Having once established their dictatorships, they seek to protect their position from alien influence just as they guard their own territory against alien arms.

They preach revolution and change for others as zealously as they keep these ideas from their own people.

It was only a few weeks ago that representatives from 81 out of the 87 countries which have Communist party organizations met together in Moscow to debate their own ideological differences and to plot their various campaigns to hasten Communist victories in each of their respective homelands. Their lengthy and turgid manifesto called for the destruction of colonialism, imperialism, and capitalism. It was clear that their primary and eventual target is the United States of America.

Khrushchev himself has often boasted that just as capitalism replaced feudalism, so Communism will replace capitalism. He preaches the "peaceful" triumph of Communism and explains that, when he speaks of "burying us," it is to be a process that we shall be forced to accept because Communism is the wave of the future.

While he does not give us all of the details by which he expects that this transformation will be brought about, we have learned more about this than he suspects. For one thing, it is clear that he means to take advantage of the nationalist revolutionary surges which are sweeping great areas of the world today.

We also know that he will work through the mechanism of the hard-core Communist Party organizations that exist in practically every country of

of the world, even here. He will use his great propaganda machine together with his large stable of subversive organizations. He will use economic aid and a large corps of technicians and experts which he is now sending to various countries of Asia and Africa, and also to this hemisphere, particularly to Cuba.

As long as we maintain our over all military strength and our capacity to move vigorously and to retaliate effectively, Khrushchev certainly will prefer to promote his aims by all these means of subversion I have just mentioned, rather than by risking all-out nuclear war. He will use the Lumumbas and the Castros and their ilk as his guided missiles of Communism rather than atomic bombs.

With these means, and on the battlefield which the Communists call co-existence, the struggle for the minds of men will be fought out in the next decade.

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We will be greatly underrating the strength of our antagonist if we ignore the strong pull which the material progress of the Soviet and the Chinese Communist regimes have exercised upon the newly emerging leaders of the world, or its effect upon the peoples in these newly emerging countries who feel they have not had their fair share of opportunity or of this world's goods.

There are a number of reasons for this. First of all, many of these people are quite ignorant of the true implications of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy and of the Communist system of government. They do remember, however, that Russia, following World War I, was disorganized, defeated in battle, and economically and militarily prostrate. Now they see that over

the last four decades it has established a strong central authority, and built up its economy and industry to a point where it is the second greatest power in the world. Communism has projected this image on the giant screen of the world theater which depicts Russia as overtaking the United States. The unfavorable parts of this film are blanked out.

The peoples of Asia and Africa and many in this hemisphere do not reckon the cost in human values of Communist rule. They think they see here various things which they want -- strong central authority, quick industrialization, broad opportunities for education, national power, and and international prestige.

Many of them recognize that our society in the West, particularly here in America, enjoys a better living standard and has many advantages which they do not find in the Soviet Union. Yet they fear that with their limited resources they cannot aspire to anything as high as our standards.

Some feel that the Soviet Union could better advise them than we on an economic development program which would be within the scope of their more modest and limited resources.

Over the next few years many countries will be making their choice. Too many will feel that they can opt for the Communist system in building their economy without its affecting their political way of life, and this is a very dangerous judgment to reach.

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Our success or failure in exposing the true Communist image to the uncommitted world should be of particular interest to you. It falls, in part, within your special field of competence, namely, the ability to communicate our real image to the world and to give a more convincing

debunking of the defects of the Communist system.

Let's look at some other examples of the Communist image.

If Communism were as attractive as its spokesmen say, one might expect a flood of persons seeking to live in their promised Paradise on earth.

What do we find? Where there is the opportunity to escape from Communism, people desert the Communist orbit. We have the tragic case of Hungary; 187,000 persons escaped to the West following the uprising against Communist oppression four years ago.

We have the case of East Germany. Since September 1949 nearly two and one-half million Germans have fled from Communist rule, often abandoning their jobs, their homes, and sometimes their families to become refugees in a Free World. And the flow is steady and continuous.

Take Hong Kong. Of 3,000,000 people in this Far Eastern neighbor of Red China, about one-third, one million, are refugees from Communist terror.

These people were not pushed out by the Communists. They have fought their way out against tightly imposed security controls.

Let us take another example closer home -- Cuba. Since Castro came to power in 1959, more than 100,000 visas have been given for travel to the United States; many more have come out secretly; and many, many visas were pending when we were forced to close our embassy a few weeks ago.

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The Communists have long said that they had the answer to the agricultural problem. Here is another claim without substance.

Communist doctrine and practices in the field of agriculture have been a dismal failure. That has been true both in the Soviet Union and in Communist China.

For example, in the USSR, the country which has the longest experience in trying to apply Marxism to agriculture, we find that with more than five times as many people as we have on the farms and in agriculture, they are producing substantially less food than we do here in the United States. Farming is a special avocation of Khrushchev himself. He is still jockeying farm managers, funds, undeveloped lands, and the peasants. The results are still bad, and even in these last few days he has been forced to admit it.

Today Communist China is exaggerating acts of God, such as floods and droughts, to excuse to their own people the failure of their planned and highly advertised agricultural program to keep pace with the rapidly growing population.

The communes in China, the most drastic reorganization of human society ever attempted, have almost dropped from sight in Communist propaganda. This project is foundering on the hard facts of human needs and desires.

The Soviets have sought to convey the impression that Moscow was to be the coming intellectual and educational center for students from all over the world, and particularly from the newly developing areas. From the very beginning, however, there have been rumblings of discontent in the foreign student area in Moscow.

Students from Africa and Asia have complained openly that they were being discriminated against by the Soviet students.

Finally, in February 1960, in what was a major propaganda gesture, but really in order to meet this situation, the Soviet Union established the Peoples' Friendship University.

This is a separate university. It is in effect a segregation of students so as to keep the foreign students and the Russian students separated from each other.

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The decade of the Sixties will be a time for several score of the newly developing countries with which we have so much to do these days.

How they decide will be greatly influenced by the image they gain of this country, and whether we or the Soviets can best help them to fulfill their aspirations in this age of revolution.

We know that Communist propagandists and Communist Front Organizations have done a vicious job in misrepresenting our purposes and accomplishments while concealing their own shortcomings -- their Hungary's and Tibet's, their aggressive policies abroad and their repressive and secretive policies at home.

The issue is joined between us, in this revolutionary and explosive age. It will probably remain in an arena short of war, but with the Communists using all the techniques and all the tools they have developed in the forty years of their conspiratorial history.

We must put the picture of Communism into proper focus by tallying an accurate balance sheet of their weaknesses and strengths.

But this is only half the job. We can also state our own case more effectively. We can do that, and I think we should do it, as has been suggested here tonight, with realism and with humor.

We can improve our performance, and we must do it, as we put into practice around the world the great ideals for which this country stands. At the same time we must improve our means of communication. Like nuclear weapons, ideas need an effective delivery system.

You who are engaged in the field of communications, in the publication and presentation of ideas, as well as those of us who are working on these

great projects in the government, have a special responsibility these days. We must make certain that the case of freedom, the case for our system of life and for our ideals, is more effectively presented to the world. In this way, as stated in the citation which I have received with so much appreciation and humility tonight, we can defend and extend the frontiers of freedom.

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